

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1558

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 1414

LIMDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - PARAGRAPH 6 LINE 3 AND PARAGRAPH

10 LINE 9

FOR THE SECRETARY AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY GR TU US

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS

1. SUMMARY: IN TOUR D'HORIZON APRIL 21, ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS EXPRESSED PESSIMISM OVER PROSPECTS FOR RESUMED TALKS IN VIENNA UNLESS TURKEY IS WILLING TO BE SPECIFIC ON TERRITORIAL RELINQUISHMENT AND REFUGEE RETURN. HE DOUBTS THIS WILL BE THE CASE GIVEN CHARACTER OF DEMIREL GOVERNMENT. HE IS APPREHENSIVE THAT TURKS WILL SUCCEED IN REDUCING OR ELIMINATING SYG ROLE FOLLOWING VIENNA. LOOKS FORWARD TO MAY 5 MEETING WITH SECRETARY. WE DISCUSSED TWO ELEMENTS CONDUCIVE TO A GOOD ATMOSPHERE DURING HIS WASHINGTON VISIT: GOC DECISION TO PAY FULL COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES TO AMERICAN EMBASSY AND AGREEMENT REOPEN FBIS OPERATION IN GOC-CONTROLLED TERRITORY. WE ALSO WENT INTO TWO NEGATIVE FACTORS: GOC AUTHORIZATION OF PLO OFFICE AND FAILURE PURSUE IN-
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VESTIGATION INTO MURDER OF AMBASSADOR DAVIES. END SUMMARY.

2. I CALLED ON PRESIDENT MAKARIOS APRIL 21 FOR A REVIEW OF SITUATION PRIOR TO MY RETURN ON CONSULTATION AND HIS IMMINENT DEPARTURE FOR COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE IN JAMAICA AND SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER. I REVIEWED RATIONALE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN'S FORTHCOMING VISITS TO ANKARA AND ATHENS, WITH POSSIBLE RETURN TO ANKARA AND BRIEFING OF SYG WALDHEIM JUST BEFORE CYPRUS TALKS RESUME IN VIENNA APRIL 28, NOTING THAT THIS ACTIVITY ATTESTED U.S. WILLINGNESS PLAY MAXIMALLY HELPFUL ROLE.

3. MAKARIOS ASKED WITH CONCERN WHETHER HARTMAN WOULD BE PRESENT DURING VIENNA TALKS AND I SAID NO: VISIT WOULD BE TO BRIEF WALDHEIM IF VISITS TO ANKARA AND ATHENS HAD PRODUCED SOMETHING OF INTEREST, AND IF SYG WISHED. AS I UNDERSTOOD IT, HARTMAN WOULD PROBABLY BE LEAVING VIENNA BEFORE TALKS RESUME.

4. MAKARIOS ASKED ME TO THANK THE SECRETARY FOR HAVING SWITCHED THEIR MEETING FROM MAY 1 TO MAY 5. MAY 1 WOULD HAVE ENTAILED A DIFFICULT SPECIAL TRIP FROM JAMAICA.

5. NOTING NEXT TWO WEEKS' EXTENSIVE DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY, I ASKED MAKARIOS HOW HE FORESAW OUTCOME. HE REPLIED THAT IN VIENNA CLERIDES WOULD BE PREPARED TO TALK IN SPECIFICS. HE WISHED THE TURKS WOULD DO THE SAME ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC GIVEN THE WEAKNESS AND INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS OF DEMIREL GOVERNMENT. SO FAR, ALL ONE HEARD FROM TURKEY WAS THAT IT WOULD BE WILLING TO TALK IF GREEKS ACCEPTED BEFOREHAND TURKISH INSISTENCE ON TWO ZONES. BY THIS, TURKEY SEEMED TO BE SAYING "SIGN ON OUR TERMS OR DO NOT SIGN AT ALL; WE DO NOT CARE". MAKARIOS SAID HE WANTED TO KNOW FROM TURKS IN VIENNA WHAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO DO ON TERRITORY, ON REFUGEE RETURN, AND TO LESS IMPORTANT EXTENT AT THIS STAGE ON POWERS OF A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND GUARANTEES.

6. I SAID THERE SEEMED TO BE GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT VIENNA TALKS MIGHT NOT BE OF SUFFICIENT DURATION TO PERMIT RESOLUTION OF MAJOR ISSUES. I KNEW UNSYG HOPED THAT PARTIES WOULD SUFFICIENTLY DEFINE THEIR POSITIONS TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR CONTINUED DISCUSSION AFTERWARDS, EITHER IN VIENNA OR IN NICOSIA UNDER WECKMANN. MAKARIOS NODDED BUT SAID IT WAS HIS POSITION THAT SYG'S ROLE SHOULD CONTINUE

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UNDIMINISHED. I REPLIED THIS WOULD BE THE CASE AS WECKMANN REPORTED TO SYG AND ANY LATER TALKS WOULD THEREFORE CONTINUE BE UNDER HIS MANDATE. I FELT SITUATION WAS MORE POSITIVE THAN ARCHBISHOP MIGHT THINK. SECRETARY KISSINGER'S ACTIVITY HAD PRODUCED A CONSENSUS THAT AN EARLY SETTLEMENT WAS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL, AND AGREEMENT FROM TURKEY THAT IT COULD CONSIDER REDUCING SOMEWHAT THE AMOUNT OF TURKISH-CONTROLLED TERRITORY IN CYPRUS. THESE WERE CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENTS UPON WHICH TO BUILD.

7. ARCHBISHOP SAID HE WOULD BE FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY AND HAD ARRANGED TO RECEIVE THROUGH GREEK DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS A FULL REPORT FROM CLERIDES BEFORE HIS MAY 5 MEETING WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER. HE WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO ASSESSING WITH THE SECRETARY AT THAT TIME WHERE MATTERS STOOD.

8. I NOTED THAT IN TERMS OF ARCHBISHOP'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO WASHINGTON THERE HAD BEEN TWO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS THAT WOULD BE WELCOMED BY MY GOVERNMENT: GOC DECISION PAY FULL COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES TO U.S. EMBASSY DURING UNCONTROLLED DEMONSTRATIONS IN AUGUST 1974 AND JANUARY 1975, AND AUTHORIZATION UNDER OUR EXISTING BILATERAL AGREEMENT FOR A MODEST REOPENING OF FBIS IN GOC-CONTROLLED TERRITORY. ON THE FORMER, MAKARIOS REPLIED SARCASTICALLY THAT HE HAD NOT SEEN THE JUSTICE OF HIS GOVERNMENT HAVING TO PAY FOR DAMAGES TO AMERICAN EMBASSY BUT HIS ADVISERS HAD PREVAILED (MEANING THAT NO ONE WAS GOING TO PAY CYPRUS FOR DESTRUCTION OF ITS TERRITORY BY TURKEY FOR WHICH HE ASSERTS U.S. IS PARTIALLY RESPONSIBLE).

9. AGAIN IN CONTEXT OF HIS WASHINGTON VISIT, I COMMENTED ON TWO OTHER FACTORS ON WHICH ARCHBISHOP MIGHT FIND CONCERN ON PART OF USG: GOC AUTHORIZATION OF A PLO OFFICE IN NICOSIA, AND LACK OF ANY APPARENT FOLLOWUP ON INVESTIGATION OF MURDER OF AMBASSADOR DAVIES.

10. ON THE PLO, MAKARIOS SAID HE HAD LONG RESISTED PLO INPORTING BUT HAD TO GIVE IN WHEN IT APPEARED LIKELY THAT THE ALTERNATIVE WAS A PLO RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKISH ADMINISTRATION. HE AGREED THERE WAS SOME REASON TO BE APPREHENSIVE ABOUT PLO TERRORISM BUT SAID HE HAD OBTAINED PLO'S SOLEMN COMMITMENT THAT IT WOULD ENGAGE IN INFORMATION ACTIVITIES ONLY. HE FELT IT MIGHT ACTUALLY BE EASIER TO KEEP AN EYE ON ACTIVITIES OF A FORMALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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ESTABLISHED OFFICE THAN IT HAD BEEN IN THE PAST WHEN PLO HAD ACTED HERE WITH UNIDENTIFIABLE AGENTS OR, IN ONE CASE (1973 ATTACK ON ISRAELI EMBASSY), AN INFILTRATED COMMANDO TEAM.

11. ON ASSASSINATION OF AMBASSADOR DAVIES, WE HAD A FAIRLY PROTRACTED EXCHANGE RELATING TO EVIDENCE ON IDENTITY OF ATTACKERS WHICH HAD BEEN PRESENTED TO GOC. I SAID I KNEW THE ARCHBISHOP HAD PURSUED A POLICY OF A TRUCE BETWEEN HIS FOLLOWERS, EOKA-B AND OTHER ARMED GROUPS, BUT CONTINUED FAILURE TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON EVIDENCE IMPLICATING EOKA-B KILLERS COULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD BY MY GOVERNMENT OR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. I HOPED THAT BY THE TIME OF HIS ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON MAKARIOS WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO COMMENT ON MEANINGFUL MEASURES TAKEN BY HIS GOVERNMENT.

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